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TOWARD A CRITIQUE OF ECONOMICS

PAUL M. SWEEZY

LUMPENPROLETARIAT AND REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

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MORE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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Atrocities in Vietnam AN NLF REPORT

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

We receive letters quite frequently these days from students who are dissatisfied with their academic programs and want advice or assistance in finding forms of activity more useful to the radical cause. No reply fits all cases of course, but we do feel that what one of us wrote to a young woman who decided not to pursue a Ph.D. program in African History "for fear of becoming further obsolete" is relevant, *mutatis mutandi*, to the problems of many others: "Your observations on the opportunism and irrelevancy of the classic Ph.D. program, and most especially when dealing with 'tribal history,' reach sympathetic ears at this end. But it is equally true, as you note, that significant historical research remains to be done—

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

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TOWARD A CRITIQUE OF ECONOMICS

BY PAUL M. SWEEZY

Orthodox economics takes the existing social system for granted, much as though it were part of the natural order of things. Within this framework it searches for harmonies of interest among individuals, groups, classes, and nations; it investigates tendencies toward equilibrium; and it assumes that change is gradual and non-disruptive. I don't think I need to illustrate or support these propositions beyond reminding you that the foundation of all orthodox economics is general and/or partial equilibrium (the two, far from being incompatible, really imply each other). And as for the point about gradualism, I need only recall that printed on the title page of Alfred Marshall's *magnum opus,* the *Principles of Economics,* is the motto *natura non facit saltum*—nature makes no leaps.

It might perhaps be plausibly argued that equilibrium and gradualism provided a workable axiomatic base for a real social science at a certain time and place—the time being roughly the half century before the First World War, and the place Britain and a few other countries of advanced capitalism. For my part, I do not believe this was true even then. I think economics by the time of what may be called the "marginalist revolution" of the 1870s had already practically ceased to be a science and had become mainly an apologetic ideology. Putting harmony, equilibrium, and gradualism at the center of the stage was dictated not by the scientific requirement of fidelity to reality, but by the bourgeois need to prettify and justify a system which was anything but harmonious, equilibrated, and gradualistic.

This is the slightly revised text of a talk given at the New England regional meeting of the Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) held at MIT, November 1-2, 1969.

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It was almost at the same time as the marginalist revolution, when economics (as distinct from classical political economy) was being born as an apologetic ideology, that Karl Marx put forward a radically different and opposed mode of analyzing the dominant economic systems. In place of harmony he put conflict. In place of forces tending toward equilibrium he stressed forces tending to disrupt and transform the status quo. In place of gradualism he found qualitative discontinuity. *Natura facit salta* could well have been imprinted on the title page of *Das Kapital.*

It seems to me that from a scientific point of view the question of choosing between these two approaches—the orthodox or the Marxian—can be answered quite simply. Which more accurately reflects the fundamental characteristics of the social reality which is under analysis? I have already indicated my own view that orthodox economics does not reflect that reality but rather serves as an apologetic rationalization for it. Similarly it seems to me that Marxism *does* reflect capitalist reality. Or, to put the matter in other terms, the world we live in is not one of harmonies of interest, tendencies to equilibrium, and gradual change. Rather, it is a world dominated by conflicts of interest, tendencies to disequilibrium, and recurring breaks in the continuity of development. A would-be science which starts with a false or irrelevant conception of reality cannot yield very significant results, no matter how refined and sophisticated its methods may be. The answers a scientist gets depend, first and foremost, not on the methods he uses but on the questions he asks.

This is of course not to denigrate the importance of methods and techniques of investigation. In the development of science they have probably played as important a role as basic theory. The two are in fact intimately interrelated: theory poses questions, methods are devised to answer them, the answers or lack of answers make more theory necessary, and so on *ad infinitum.*

But the scientific endeavor is really not quite so simple and straightforward as this would suggest. Some of you may be familiar with the little book by Thomas S. Kuhn, entitled

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*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,** which I think is very helpful in this connection. Kuhn argues that every scientific theory rests on what he calls a paradigm, which I think is very close to what I have been referring to as a conception of reality (or of some aspect of reality). Ptolemaic astronomy, for example, rested on a geocentric conception of the cosmos. The questions any science asks are fundamentally limited and conditioned by its underlying paradigm, which in time thus tends to become a hindrance rather than a stimulus to further advance. When this happens, the science in question enters into a period of crisis. The previously existing consensus among its practitioners crumbles. What is now needed is a new paradigm or, in my terminology, a new conception of reality which will once again form the basis for advance. This is often provided, as Kuhn shows in a most interesting way, by outsiders, i.e., men coming to the science from some other field where they have never learned to accept and venerate the conventional wisdom of the science with whose problems they are now concerning themselves. Moreover, as a rule the older scientists are unable to free themselves from their training and preconceptions, while the younger ones find it much easier to accept the new approaches. Gradually a new paradigm emerges and once again provides the basis for theoretical advance and for the unity of the science. In the new phase what Kuhn calls "normal science" becomes the order of the day, normal science being the posing and answering of the questions which are explicitly or implicitly allowed by the new paradigm or conception of reality.

In Kuhn's view, then, scientific advance takes place not in a straight-line, cumulative manner, starting from small beginnings and building up step-by-step and brick-by-brick to the imposing scientific edifices of today. This, incidentally, is the false idea which not only the lay public but the scientists themselves have of the process of scientific advance, a fact which Kuhn attributes in large part to the role of textbooks in the training of scientists. There are also other reasons, of course, among which I would rate as very important the tendency of scientists, in

* Paperback edition, University of Chicago Press, 1962.

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common with other bourgeois thinkers, to view all of history, and not only the history of science, in an undialectical way. The pattern of scientific advance, in Kuhn's view, is rather through the exhaustion and breakdown of paradigms, leading in sequence to crisis, revolution via the construction of a new paradigm, and advance through normal science until a new period of breakdown and crisis is reached.

It would be interesting, and very likely fruitful, to try to apply this schema to the interpretation of the history of the social sciences. But certain obvious complications come to mind. For one thing it is clear that in the social sciences a paradigm can break down not only for what may be called internal reasons—i.e., the exhaustion of the questions it permits to be asked—but also because the social reality which the paradigm reflects undergoes fundamental changes. The crisis of Ptolemaic astronomy did not arise from any change in the functioning of the heavenly bodies, but rather because the geocentric paradigm became increasingly unsatisfactory as a basis for explaining observed phenomena. In the case of social science a new dimension is added: not only the observation of phenomena but the phenomena themselves are subject to change.

Another complicating factor is that the social world involves the *interests* of individuals, groups, classes, nations, in a way that is obviously not the case with the natural world. The resistance to the abandonment of old paradigms and the adoption of new ones is therefore much more complicated and is likely to be much more stubborn in the social sciences than in the natural sciences. I believe it could be shown that one consequence of this is that revolutions in the social sciences are always associated in one way or another with political and social revolutions.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the case of orthodox economics. Here it seems to me that the underlying paradigm, along with the normal science to which it gives rise, can and should be subjected to critical attack on several grounds. As I have already suggested, this paradigm takes the existing social order for granted, which means that it assumes, implicitly if not explicitly, that the capitalist system is permanent. Further,

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it assumes that within this system (a) the interests of individuals, groups, and classes are harmonious (or, if not harmonious, at least reconcilable; (b) tendencies to equilibrium exist and assert themselves in the long run; and (c) change is and will continue to be gradual and adaptive.

One line of attack would be that this paradigm is about a century old and that most of the basic questions it allows to be asked have long since been posed and explored by the great economists of the first and second generations—men like Menger, Wieser, Böhm-Bawerk, and Wicksell in one tradition; Walras, Pareto, and the early mathematical economists in another tradition; and Marshall, Pigou, and Keynes in still another. (The list is of course intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.) More recent orthodox economics, remaining within the same fundamental limits, has therefore tended, so to speak, to yield diminishing returns. It has concerned itself with smaller and decreasingly significant questions, even judging magnitude and significance by its own standards. To compensate for this trivialization of content, it has paid increasing attention to elaborating and refining its techniques. The consequence is that today we often find a truly stupefying gap between the questions posed and the techniques employed to answer them. Let me cite, only partly for your amusement, one of the more extreme examples of this disparity that I happen to have run across:

> Given a set of economic agents and a set of coalitions, a nonempty family of subsets of the first set closed under the formation of countable unions and complements, an allocation is a countably additive function from the set of coalitions to the closed positive orthant of the commodity space. To describe preferences in this context, one can either introduce a positive, finite real measure defined on the set of coalitions and specify, for each agent, a relation of preference-or-indifference on the closed positive orthant of the commodity space, or specify, for each coalition, a relation of preference-or-indifference on the set of allocations. This article studies the extent to which these two approaches are equivalent.*

* Gerard Debreu, "Preference Functions on Measure Spaces of Economic Agents," Center for Research in Management Science, University of California, Berkeley, January 1966 (mimeographed).

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You will doubtless be glad to know that in his search for an answer to this momentous question the author enjoyed the support of the National Science Foundation and the Office of Naval Research.

But a much more fundamental line of attack on orthodox economics proceeds from the proposition that, whatever relative validity its underlying paradigm may have had a hundred years ago has largely disappeared as a result of intervening changes in the global structure and functioning of the capitalist system. Conflicts of interest, disruptive forces, abrupt and often violent change—these are clearly the *dominant* characteristics of capitalism on a world-wide scale today. But they are outside the self-imposed limits of orthodox economics, which is therefore condemned to increasing irrelevance and impotence.

Before I turn in conclusion to the state of Marxian economics, let me add that what I have been saying applies to economics considered as a social science, as the modern successor to classical political economy, whose task is to comprehend the *modus operandi* of the socio-economic system. I quite realize that a great deal of what is actually taught in economics departments today and is *called* economics is something entirely different. It seeks not to understand a certain aspect of reality but rather to devise ways and means of manipulating *given* institutions and variables to achieve results which for one reason or another are considered desirable. How should a corporation allocate its resources to obtain maximum profits? How should a government department weigh costs and benefits in making its decisions? How can a centrally planned society achieve a distribution of goods and services and a rate of growth in conformity with the directives of its political authorities?

Naturally, I have no objection to asking and trying to answer questions of this kind, and I suppose it is no great matter that the work is carried out in economics departments (as well as in business schools, departments of public administration, and the like). What I do object to is calling this sort of thing "science." It is no more social science than engineering is physical science. The analogy may not be perfect, but I do not think it is basically misleading either. I will only add that

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I think a great deal of this social "engineering" is vitiated by taking its assumptions about how economic entities and institutions work from what I consider faulty social science. Here the analogy certainly does work: engineering isn't physics or chemistry, but its success depends on making use of the scientific laws of physics and chemistry. Social engineering is in the same state of dependence, and this explains why much of it is beside the point or worse. Try, for example, to prescribe a solution for a problem involving irreconcilable conflicts of interest on the assumption of underlying harmony. This, as it happens, is being done all the time in the United States today—with respect to such problems as the racial and urban crises, relations between the advanced and underdeveloped countries, and many others.

Now in conclusion a few words about Marxian economics. Here the underlying paradigm stressing conflict, disequilibrium, and discontinuity is also about a hundred years old. Since the knowledge which it yields is totally critical of the existing society, it was naturally unacceptable to the beneficiaries of that social order—in the first instance the propertied classes which are also the possessors of political power. Marxian economics was therefore banned from all the established institutions of society such as government, schools, colleges, and universities. As a result it became the social science of the individuals and classes in revolt against the existing social order. Three points need to be emphasized here.

(1) The class character of Marxian economics in no way calls into question or impugns its scientific validity. That depends entirely on its ability to explain reality. And in this respect it seems clear, to me at any rate, that the record of Marxian economics is far better than that of orthodox economics.

(2) But it also seems to me that the record is not anywhere near as good as it could have been. There are probably several reasons for this, only one of which will be mentioned here. This is that the practice of "normal science" within the framework of the Marxian paradigm has from the beginning been extremely difficult. Excluded from universities and research institutes,

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Marxian economists have generally lacked the facilities, the time, and the congenial environment available to other scientists. Most of them have had to make their living at other jobs, often in the nerve-racking and fatiguing area of political activism. In these circumstances what is perhaps remarkable is that so much rather than so little has been accomplished.

(3) But why, it may be asked, have not the revolutions of the twentieth century, mostly espousing Marxism as their official ideology, not resulted in a flowering of Marxian economics (and other social sciences)? Here, I think, we meet a paradox which, however, can be explained by a Marxian analysis. Revolutionary regimes so far this century have come to power in relatively backward countries and have been largely preoccupied with retaining power against internal and external enemies. In these circumstances, their attitudes toward Marxism as a social science have been ambivalent for the simple reason that it is, or is always likely to become, critical of the new social order. It follows that under revolutionary regimes, as under the previous capitalist regimes, for Marxists the practice of normal science has been difficult and often practically impossible.

I do not want to end these remarks on such a negative note. Despite all the hindrances and difficulties, I think Marxian economics has indeed made notable progress and produced important contributions to our understanding of today's world. Let me cite just one area in which I think its superiority over orthodox economics is obvious and overwhelming—in explaining what has often been called the most important problem of the twentieth century, the growing gap between a handful of advanced capitalist countries and the so-called Third World.

Orthodox economics has nothing useful to say on this subject—largely, I would argue, because it is ruled out by the underlying paradigm. And the prescriptions of orthodox economics for overcoming the gap have been proving their impotence for many years now.

For Marxian economics, on the other hand, the explanation, if not simple, is at least perfectly clear in its main outlines. This explanation can be put schematically as follows:

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(a) From the beginning, the development of today's advanced capitalist countries has been based on subjugation and exploitation of Third World countries. The latter's pre-existing societies were largely destroyed, and they were then reorganized to serve the purposes of the conquerors. The wealth transferred to the advanced countries was one of their chief sources of capital accumulation.

(b) The relations established between the two groups of countries—trade, investment, and more recently so-called aid—have been such as to promote development in the one and underdevelopment in the other.

(c) There is therefore nothing at all mysterious about either the gap or its widening. Both are the inevitable consequence of the global structure of the capitalist system.

(d) It follows that the situation can be changed and real development can take place in the Third World only if the existing pattern of relations is decisively broken. The countries of the Third World must secure control over their own economic surplus and use it not for the enrichment of others but for their own development and their own people. This means thoroughgoing revolution to overthrow imperialism and its local allies and agents.

Marxian economists still have a tremendous amount of work to do to explain and elucidate the many complex facets of this global process. But I suggest that in the work of such outstanding Marxists as the late Paul Baran and Andre Gunder Frank great strides have been made in recent years, and that large numbers of dedicated young social scientists, not least in the Third World itself, are not only following in their footsteps but pushing on to new frontiers.

Can anything remotely comparable be said of the contribution of orthodox economists? I think the answer is obvious. And the thought I would leave you with is that the fault lies not in any lack of talent or dedication on the part of the practitioners of orthodox economics but rather in the fundamental falsity of the conception of reality which underlies all their theoretical and empirical work.

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THE LUMPENPROLETARIAT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

BY BRUCE FRANKLIN

It has become increasingly obvious in the last few years that the black liberation movement plays a leading part in revolutionizing large sections of white youth, and recently we have come to see a revolutionary youth movement in the mother country dialectically related to the struggle of the internal black nation. Clearly it is crucial that some of those engaged in both struggles develop a correct theoretical understanding of the relation between the two. In trying to arrive at this understanding, some people within both the black and youth movements have started relying on the term "lumpenproletariat."

The reasons for this are clear. A section of white youth has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletarian mode of existence. These "street people" now live a life at least superficially similar to that into which a large section of black youth has been forced. Black youth on the block and white street people own no property, rarely sell their labor (in one case because they cannot, in the other because they will not), hustle and drift; they despise and are despised by bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, and privileged sectors of the working class alike. Their resemblance to each other has now been driven home by the police, who have begun to use on the white dropouts the kind of systematic terror and brutality usual-

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ly reserved for black and brown people and the poorest whites.

All this has led some to theorize that the principal class struggle in the United States is not that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but that between the lumpenproletariat and all other classes, which are seen as more or less bourgeoisified. They visualize an anarchic force, made up of the most desperate and alienated sub-groups in society, ripping the vitals out of the American Empire and dragging the rotting corpse to some fiery Armageddon. Since this idea has been advanced by some people strategically enough placed in the movement to be able to put it into practice, we must seriously analyze both its theoretical foundations and practical consequences.

To do this, we must answer two very difficult questions: What precisely is the lumpenproletariat? What are its possible roles in the American revolution? This paper is offered as a preliminary examination of these questions.

Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is a class that has received extremely little attention in classical Marxist-Leninist theory, and what has been said about it is somewhat puzzling.

Marx and Engels were writing at a time when most other writers about the history of revolutionary struggle took a consistently bourgeois viewpoint. To these other writers, revolutions —and for them of course the French revolution was the archetype—were carried out by a mob, an undifferentiated mass, *la foule*. Marx and Engels, in singling out the industrial proletariat as the agent of socialist revolution, were anxious to distinguish it from that urban mob of the bourgeois writers. This may help account both for the contempt they express for the lumpenproletariat and for their lack of detailed analysis of its conditions of life, its consciousness, and its relations to capitalist production.

In the *Communist Manifesto,* they refer to the lumpenproletariat as the " 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society," and claim that although it "may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of

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life prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (*Selected Works,* I, 44) In *The Class Struggles in France,* Marx says that the lumpenproletariat "in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," and analyzes it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, *gens sans feu et sans aveu,* varying according to the degree of civilization of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their *lazzaroni* character." (*Selected Works,* I, 155) The most savage passage comes in Engels' Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany*:

> The *lumpenproletariat,* this scum of the depraved elements of all classes, which established headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: *Mort aux voleurs!* Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at a distance. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement. (*Selected Works,* I, 646)

Yet even this passage, taken with the others, presents some apparent contradictions.

First of all, what do Marx and Engels see as the class background of the lumpenproletariat? This is not an idle or academic question. Class background should certainly have something to do with determining consciousness, both actual and potential. And recently it has become fashionable in some quarters to write off the street people as not even lumpenproletariat but "lumpenbourgeoisie," or fake lumpenproletariat. In the passage quoted above from Engels he says that they come from "the depraved elements of *all* classes." But the *Manifesto* says that they come only from "the lowest layers of old society." And in the very passage in which Marx says that the lumpenproletariat is "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," he also indicates that it comes directly from only one class, that same

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proletariat ("And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst. . . ."). Yet in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,* Marx is quite explicit in stating that the lumpenproletariat comes from all classes:

> Alongside decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni,* pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaux* [pimps], brothel keepers, porters, *literati,* organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife-grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *la bohème;* from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society on December 10. A "benevolent society"—insofar as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the laboring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself *chief of the lumpenproletariat,* . . . here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, . . . recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally. . . . (*Selected Works,* I, 295)

But this is all very confusing, because in the *Manifesto* the paragraph which immediately follows the sentence condemning the lumpenproletariat describes the pauperization of the proletariat in these terms: "In the condition of the proletariat, those of the old society are already swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relation. . . . Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests." (*Selected Works,* I, 44)

A few paragraphs later, we read that "the modern laborer . . . sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class." And again, "he becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." Well, then, if this is true, what happens to the pauperized proletariat? How do they manage to live? Why is a knife-grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat,

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"sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat"? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletarian "law, morality, religion" are just "bourgeois prejudices." And it cannot be a question of *personal* relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would be a lumpen army.

I would like to draw the following working conclusions: Marx and Engels, perceiving the existence of an important but ill-defined social class and angered by the treacherous role often played by that class, tended to make an ethical judgment rather than a Marxist analysis of its role in capitalist society and revolutionary struggle. This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry. (The bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army, or agents.) Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other subjective—they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class. From this it follows that the lumpenproletariat will contain more varied forms of consciousness than any other class in society, for the previous experience of the individuals within it will be most varied and their present precarious means of existence will throw them into many different forms of contact with all the other classes (the prostitute providing the most striking example of this). So the role of the lumpenproletariat is inherently unpredictable both strategically and at each and every moment.

If this is true, we should be keenly aware of the unreliability of the lumpenproletariat, but we must reject Engels' condemnation of it as completely worthless and merely dangerous. Marx provides a key insight in a passage which foreshadows the analysis of Mao and Fanon and relates directly to the development of the present revolutionary youth movement. At a

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"youthful age," he says in *The Class Struggles in France,* the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (*Selected Works,* I, 155) If so, at least the youth of the lumpenproletariat should be able to play an extremely important part in revolutionary struggle, because they are the only group to combine this potentiality for heroism with an intimate daily knowledge of how to cope with the police and to engage in underground activities as a way of life. And remember that in *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin makes the mastery of these skills the primary requirement of the professional revolutionary and of the revolutionary party as a whole, primary because these skills are needed to survive.

Lenin himself deals with one aspect of the lumpenproletariat quite relevant at the present moment: its tendency to engage in spontaneous and disorganized armed struggle against the state and in "expropriation" of state property. Lenin violently condemns those Bolsheviks who disassociate themselves from this by "proudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this.' " ("Guerrilla Warfare," *Collected Works,* XI, 220) He attacks "the usual appraisal" which sees this struggle as merely "anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralize the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganize the movement and injure the revolution." (*ibid.,* XI, 216-217) Lenin draws the following keen lesson from the disorganized state of this struggle: it is not these "actions which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions *under its control.*" (*ibid.,* p. 219) The Bolsheviks must organize these spontaneous acts and "must train and prepare their organizations to be really able to act as a *belligerent side* which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces." (*ibid.,* p. 223)

Mao's basic analysis of the lumpenproletariat and its possible role in the revolution is clear and simple:

> Apart from all these other classes, there is the fairly large lumpenproletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land

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and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They lead the most precarious existence of all. . . . One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance. (*Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*)

Although in American society the lumpenproletariat consists of more groups than the dispossessed farmers of the South and Midwest and unemployed handicraftsmen, Mao's final generalization seems to be as fitting here as there. But unfortunately for us, Mao does not give any detailed theory on working with this particular, almost entirely urban, class. The closest he comes is a passage in "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist party" (*Works,* II, 325-326):

China's status as a colony and semi-colony has given rise to a multitude of rural and urban unemployed. Denied proper means of making a living, many of them are forced to resort to illegitimate ones, hence the robbers, gangsters, beggars, and prostitutes and the numerous people who live on superstitious practices. This social stratum is unstable; while some are apt to be bought over by the reactionary forces, others may join the revolution. These people lack constructive qualities and are given to destruction rather than construction; after joining the revolution, they become a source of roving-rebel and anarchist ideology in the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, we should know how to remold them and guard against their destructiveness.

The major Marxist theorist of the lumpenproletariat is Frantz Fanon, whose view is like an amplification of Mao's. In *The Wretched of the Earth,* Fanon, writing mainly about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants. (p. 90) This is the part of the analysis least relevant to the United States, although, of course, almost all of the black and part of the white lumpenproletariat have been driven from the land into the cities. Fanon has no illusions about the dangerous unreliability of this class. But he argues that, for three reasons, the revolution cannot succeed without these people: (1) They are the most ready to fight. (2) They therefore provide the way by which the revolutionary forces of the countryside enter the city. (3) If they are not fight-

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ing on the side of the revolution, they will be fighting against it. Fanon gives many specific examples of the counter-revolutionary role sometimes played by the lumpenproletariat. In Madagascar, the colonialists assisted in "the creation of a party out of the unorganized elements of the lumpenproletariat" and then used "its distinctly provocative actions" as "the legal excuse to maintain order." (p. 93) In Angola, Algeria, and the Congo, the colonialists were able to use elements of the lumpenproletariat as soldiers, agents, laborers, and counter-revolutionary demonstrators. Fanon concludes from this not that the lumpenproletariat should be ignored but, quite the contrary, that the real danger lies in depending on its spontaneity:

> Colonialism will also find in the lumpenproletariat a considerable space for maneuvering. For this reason any movement for freedom ought to give its fullest attention to this lumpenproletariat. The peasant masses will always answer the call to rebellion, but if the rebellion's leaders think it will be able to develop without taking the masses into consideration, the lumpenproletariat will throw itself into the battle and will take part in the conflict—but this time on the side of the oppressor. And the oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting the niggers against each other, will be extremely skillful in using that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weaknesses of the lumpenproletariat. If this available reserve of human effort is not immediately organized by the forces of rebellion, it will find itself fighting as hired soldiers side by side with the colonial troops. (p. 109)

What makes all this particularly dangerous is that it may occur after the lumpenproletariat has fought on the side of the revolution, and may therefore take the revolutionary forces completely by surprise. Fanon point out that the enemy relies on careful analysis to take advantage of any such opportunity:

> The enemy is aware of ideological weaknesses, for he analyzes the forces of rebellion and studies more and more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual instability of certain layers of the population. The enemy discovers the existence, side by side with the disciplined and well-organized advance guard of rebellion, of a mass of men whose participation is constantly at the mercy of their being for too long accustomed to physiological wretchedness, humiliation, and irresponsibility. (pp. 109-110)

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It is certainly not difficult to imagine a similar situation in the United States, and we should be warned of the necessity of raising the consciousness of all those who join the struggle. The Black Panthers' political education courses, based on intensive study of Mao and stressing an application to people's immediate experience, here serve as a model. Many of their early recruits, although unaccustomed to reading and used to the life of a criminal, learned to serve the people with complete dedication. And, like Malcolm X, not only Eldridge Cleaver but several other leaders of the Panthers are the "discharged jailbirds" Marx sees as part of the lumpenproletariat.

Two other parts of Fanon's analysis are of even more strategic importance. The first is the theory of the lumpenproletariat as the way the countryside enters the city. "The rebellion, which began in the country districts, will filter into the towns through that fraction of the peasant population . . . which has not yet succeeded in finding a bone to gnaw in the colonial system. . . . It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpenproletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead." (p. 103) How does this apply to the United States? It is easy enough to see the unemployed people of the black ghettos as part of this mass of humanity. But where is the rebellion that began in the country districts? The answer, of course, is in the world revolution as described by Lin Piao in *Long Live the Victory of People's War!* The country districts of the world are Asia, Africa, and Latin America, homelands of the wretched of the earth. There are various groups of people in the United States who share the physical misery of these rural masses—American Indians, Chicago farm laborers, black tenant farmers in the South, the dispossessed whites of Appalachia. But most of these groups are scattered and weak, living on the fringes of capitalist society, away from its vital centers. There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses but is sufficiently concentrated to attack imperialism at home—the urban lumpenproletariat. This class in American society is largely made up of Third World people, but also includes whites dispossessed from the land or dropped out of their class. This last is no

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inconsiderable group, and it has taken over areas of several important cities. Wherever the lumpenproletariat lives in America, "law and order" are rapidly disintegrating. Imperialism, caught in its own contradictions, finds it increasingly difficult to develop effective weapons to use within its own diseased vital organs, its cities. Here stirs the lumpenproletariat, the one class whose physical existence approximates that of the main forces of the world revolution.

Fanon points to the symptoms of breakdown in the colonized country, and we see the same symptoms, perhaps more pronounced, in the colonizer. To "juvenile delinquency, stealing, debauchery, and alcoholism," we can add the effects of methedrine and heroin.

> The constitution of a lumpenproletariat is a phenomenon which obeys its own logic, and neither the brimming activity of the missionaries nor the decrees of the central government can check its growth. This lumpenproletariat is like a horde of rats; you may kick them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree. . . .
>
> The lumpenproletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the "security" of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocable decay, the gangrene ever present at the heart of the colonial system. (p. 104)

The other extremely important part of Fanon's analysis has to do with the changing values and life style of the lumpenproletariat within revolutionary struggle. The conditions of life have shaped them to fight, but the fighting itself is a new condition which transforms them into a new kind of people:

> So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed, and the petty criminals, urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout workingmen. These classless idlers will by militant and decisive action discover the path that leads to nationhood. They won't become reformed characters to please colonial society, fitting in with the morality of its rulers; quite the contrary, they take for granted the impossibility of entering the city save by hand-grenades and revolvers. These workless less-than-men are rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of history. The prostitutes too, and the maids . . . , all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness,

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will recover their balance, once more go forward, and march proudly in the great procession of the awakened nation. (p. 104)

All this emphasizes both the danger of tailing after the lumpenproletariat's existing values and life styles, and the necessity of conscious leadership for the lumpenproletariat to assert its own liberation through revolutionary struggle. Of all classes, this may be the one that most needs to be led by conscious revolutionaries with a sense of its historical condition and an awareness of its weaknesses and instability. It would be a mistake, probably a fatal mistake, to think that the only people qualified to lead it are individuals just as unpredictable and lacking in ideology.

Students and Street People

Students now constitute a large portion of the entire U.S. population. The number of college students alone now approximately equals the country's entire armed forces plus its three largest unions (Teamsters, Automobile Workers, and Steel Workers), and the number in high school is far larger. From the students has come the bulk of both the most militant white radical political forces and street people, two overlapping groups. Clearly, the radicalization and lumpenproletarianizing of students are not coincidences.

All students, particularly those living away from home, are partially and temporarily *déclassés,* existing in a limbo between their wealthy or working-class past and whatever careers or jobs they are being channeled into. Although physically and psychologically capable of productive labor and childbearing, indeed more energetic and sexually motivated than most "adults," though often among the most intellectually alert and best informed people, they are branded by all classes as immature parasites. They are generally not allowed or able to sell their labor or to own property. Although they may work quite hard in school, they do not produce anything, and are not workers. No matter how socially useful their knowledge and skills may later prove to be, they are still "dependents," a pleasant word for parasites.

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Rather than earn a living, students chisel or hustle for one. Even the son of a member of the ruling class knows that he has gotten his sports car by finagling it out of his old man, not through productive labor (like his father's workers) or legalized respectable plunder (like his father); he relates to his father like a call girl or swindler. Students are denied even bourgeois democratic rights. As neither workers nor owners, living under coercive rules without even the illusion of having chosen the authority over them, students share some of the experience of the more clearly classless elements of society, the true lumpenproletariat. This experience has at least some effect on their consciousness. They know what it is to be considered a parasite and to live like one. Their class loyalties weaken. The sanctity of both work and private property is questioned. Of course they are still largely products of their natal class. But because their class position is now ambiguous, many of them slip out of the class roles for which they supposedly were being trained, and some find it quite easy to become outright class traitors. Some sons and daughters of workers compete for managerial careers, and a few even become lower-level bosses over their parents. Some sons and daughters of the wealthiest capitalists become conscious revolutionaries, seeking to overthrow their parents' rule, and a few even succeed in merging with the workers. But the most striking phenomenon is that of the dropout, who slides directly from an existence with some superficial resemblances to the lumpenproletariat into becoming a bona fide member of that class. And during the present period, the beginning of the final collapse of imperialism, that is becoming a mass phenomenon.

The alienated street people, predominately ex-students whose neighborhood usually adjoins a black or brown ghetto, form an ambiguous connection to the dispossessed lumpenproletariat and lower strata of the proletariat. The potential exists for two kinds of conflict, and both have already taken place: in one, whites and Third World people fight against each other; in the other, both fight together against the police. This represents in dramatically clear form the classical ambiguity of and within the lumpenproletariat.

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The Lumpenproletariat and the Working Class

Although the lumpenproletariat must play a part in revolutionary struggle, as a class it is incapable of being the main force. Its capacity for fighting and destruction may be great, but of all classes within society it is the least capable of seizing and maintaining state power.

One error currently being made within the movement is empiricism, which bases its analysis only on what has already taken place here and now. In any pre-revolutionary or early revolutionary condition, the least stable elements within society are those to go into motion first. This almost always includes students and elements of the lumpenproletariat. Empiricism mistakes this *first* force for the *leading* force or vanguard, and concludes that the revolution will be made by precisely those elements in fact least able to carry it through to completion.

In developed capitalist society, there is of course only one class other than the bourgeoisie capable of holding state power; that class is the working class. At this point in history, revolution can mean only one thing: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. (Individuals can be fighting anti-imperialists, totally committed to the destruction of the bourgeois state, without being revolutionaries. If they are merely destructive, they sooner or later attack the working class as well as the state.) But in the obvious historical meaning of revolution lies the danger of dogmatism, which ignores living reality for historical certainty. Some dogmatists see the struggles of any group other than the proletariat as inconsequential, if not downright counter-revolutionary. A few carry this so far that they assert that students and street people are not part of the people at all. Because they ignorantly assume that "when Mao or Lenin talked of the people they were referring [only] to workers and peasants," they arrive at the preposterous conclusion that "the fight for People's Park was a reactionary struggle." On the other hand, Marxist-Leninists understand that theory must be based on objective reality. They conclude, therefore, that the key revolutionary task at the present moment is spreading the intensely political struggle of the dispossessed and the alienated to the working class as a whole, which, mired in economism, can win

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its own battle only in revolution, and can win the revolution only by leading other classes in alliance.

There is nothing automatic or certain about the relation between the present insurgencies and the working class. On the contrary, there is an extreme danger that the contradiction between the lumpenproletariat and the working class may become antagonistic (particularly if many workers were to listen to the bourgeois press or even to some radical publications). The lumpenproletariat is, after all, a parasitic class that lives off the labor of the working class. Workers may perceive anarchic rebellion as a threat to the marginal security they have been able to win from the ruling class. On its side, that part of the lumpenproletariat consisting of students who have dropped out of petty bourgeois, professional, and bourgeois families has been filled with the most virulent anti-working-class ideas. And particular situations may sharpen the contradiction. For example, students and street people occupy a housing development from which working-class people have been evicted, and then demand that it be a free People's Pad, while workers in the surrounding neighborhood cannot afford their rent. Or the same situation may be turned into unified struggle. Out of the People's Pad project comes intensive organizing for a rent strike in the surrounding community. So the task of first linking and then uniting the struggles of the lumpenproletariat and the working class is not only essential, but needs the work of conscious revolutionaries.

Among Third World people, there is a less clear demarcation between lumpenproletariat and working class than there is between street people and the white working class. Black and brown workers are the last hired and the first fired, so that a large percentage know what it is to be among the unemployed. Many black and brown women are on welfare or employed in part-time "domestic" (i.e., servile) positions. The Black Panther Party has shown the way to unite lumpenproletariat with working class—by constantly developing practical programs to Serve the People in areas where the oppression of the lumpenproletariat is an extreme form of the oppression suffered by black working people. Beginning with a base almost entirely within

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the lumpenproletariat and committed to defending the people against police brutality, the Panthers now have wide support among black workers and, thanks to the Breakfast for Children program, throughout the black community. What has been central to this success has been the Panthers' refusal to take the opportunistic course of organizing around lumpenproletariat demands per se, but rather organizing through the lumpenproletariat as the most victimized members of the black nation and therefore as ones capable of raising demands for the people as a whole. Although now and again contradictions have intensified between lumpenproletariat and working class within Third World communities, it now seems certain that revolutionary leadership, national oppression, and the intensifying crisis of imperialism will combine to forge revolutionary unity.

In the mother country, the problems are far more difficult. Certainly the lesson of the Panthers—Serve the People—is just as crucial here, to say the least. The principal organizing concept here is the revolutionary youth movement, which is made necessary and possible by cross-class youth culture, the draft and imperialist war, high unemployment among youth, and the pigs.

Within the revolutionary youth movement, the bulk of the work within the next year or two will continue to be building the movement on the campuses and on the streets and linking the two together. But the key job for revolutionaries will be to spread that movement to young white working people.

Here one vital area of work must be draft resistance and resistance within the army, because here the movement among alienated white youth connects directly to the needs of young workers. Another priority is the work among street gangs—who are themselves basically lumpenproletarian, although their class backgrounds vary—and motorcycle clubs, which are mostly made up of young workers whose life style and off-work associations relate closely to the lumpenproletariat. A third area of vital importance is the high schools, where the channeling system has not as yet totally forced class separation and where oppression cuts sharply across class lines.

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Fascists or Partisans?

In Germany, the lumpenproletariat were the main source of shock troops for Nazism. Anyone who worships the spontaneity of unemployed youth should be reminded of the Brownshirts. In the United States, unemployed white youth are a fertile breeding place for the worst forms of racism, national chauvinism, and the cult of the super-male. This is particularly true in the South, in the urban areas into which the dispossessed rural whites have been driven, and in European-ethnic neighborhoods. And among these people there is no clear dividing line between lumpenproletariat and white working class. The Young Patriots and the Young Partisans have shown that these people are capable of becoming not only revolutionaries but revolutionary leaders. And the only way for them to do this, as both groups have shown, is by organizing around the principle of serving the most oppressed and exploited people in American society.

The lumpenproletariat know what it is to be on the bottom, to be smashed into the gutter by the whole weight of an imperialist structure. They share the degradation of the wretched of the whole earth. At every moment two paths are possible for them. One is to turn their hatred against other victims, against each other, against themselves. They can put on the uniform of the U.S. Marines and butcher Vietnamese peasants, they can prey on their brothers and sisters in the streets, or they can shoot their own veins full of poison. The other path is the path of their own liberation.

To reach this path it is necessary for them, like all of us, not only to become conscious of who our real enemies are but to realize that the only force capable of overthrowing them and destroying their rotting system is a grand alliance of all their victims. And one thing is sure for everybody: no class will be liberated while there still exists a class that can be called the lumpenproletariat.

The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge.

—*Karl Marx, The Civil War in France*

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MORE ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

BY MICKEY AND JOHN ROWNTREE

In the September 1969 issue of MONTHLY REVIEW there is an article by Margaret Benston on "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." She defines women as "that group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with the home and family." Further, they are "denied an active place in the market" and "remain a very convenient and elastic part of the industrial reserve army." While agreeing with Benston's analysis of women's role in the home, we feel that the changing sex composition of the labor force since the Second World War belies her emphasis on women as houseworkers, which minimizes their role as wage laborers.

In the United States in 1940, only about 1 in 4 women (14 years and over) were in the labor force, 1 in 10 mothers worked, and about 1 in 12 women (18-24 years old) were still in school. By 1968, almost 2 in 5 women (16 years and over) were in the labor force, 2 in 5 mothers worked, and

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more than 1 in 5 women (18-24 years) were still in school.* Rather than excluding women from the labor force, monopoly capitalism has increasingly drawn women out of the home and into the market. Between 1947 and 1968 the labor force participation rate for men in both civilian and military employment fell from 86.8 percent to 81.2 percent (reflecting longer schooling and earlier retirement), while that for women rose from 31.8 percent to 41.6 percent. This marked increase in the proportion of women working occurred while the proportion of adult women in school increased dramatically; for 18-24 year-olds, women in school increased from 9.9 percent in 1950 to 22.1 percent in 1967, and now exceeds the proportion of 18-24 year-old men who were in school in 1950, 20.1 percent. During the same period, 1950-1968, the percentage of women not in the labor force because they were "keeping house" fell from about 60 percent of women to less than 50 percent. In July 1969, there were 47,681,000 males (93.4 percent of the total) 20 to 64 years old in the total labor force, while there were 25,807,000 females (48.1 percent) 20 to 64 years old in the total labor force and 25,810,000 females not in the labor force because they were "keeping house."

It is difficult to treat women simply as unpaid producers of use-values in the home when more than two fifths of them are in the labor force. (Only three fourths of men are in the *civilian* labor force.) Only 28.1 percent of the civilian labor force in 1947, women were 37.1 percent in 1968. In April 1969, while women accounted for only 20 percent of employment in transportation and utilities and only 28 percent of manufacturing workers, they were 39 percent of wholesale and retail trade workers, 43 percent of total government employees, 51 percent of workers in finance, insurance, and real estate, and 54 percent of service workers. Not only are women crucial members of the labor force, but the home is ceasing to provide them with a shelter from the imperatives of the market. The

* Unless otherwise noted, all calculations are derived from *Historical Statistics of the United States,* the *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1968 and 1969, and *Employment and Earnings,* Vol. 16, no. 2, August 1969. For working mothers, see U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Leaflet 37, "Who Are the Working Mothers?", 1967.

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Department of Labor says that 90 percent of girls today will work some time in their lives.*

If the system needs to keep women in the home, as Benston says, then it is failing badly at meeting this need. Benston also suggests that one of the sources of the women's liberation movements may be the development of embryonic capitalized forms of home production which are freeing women to demand equality in work, pay, and status. Looking further for clues to the recent upsurge of interest in the problems of women, perhaps we should look not just at the home and not just at the work place, but at the contradiction between women's role in the one and the other. Women have been doing unpaid labor in the home for a very long time; this by itself is an unlikely source of women's discontent. Further, we argue that higher unemployment rates, lower wages, and unequal job opportunities for women are the results of the contradiction between women's cultural role and women as free wage-laborers.

In this society the father's family role is a market one, that of "provider." This role is compatible with his role as free wage-worker. But the mother's culturally defined role is a non-market one, the practical day-to-day care of children. While men can comfort themselves with the thought that "at least I'm providing for my family," working women fear that "I'm neglecting the children, too." As a result, women experience all the alienation faced by any worker under capitalism, face a conflict rather than a reinforcement of cultural values, and are not even financially rewarded for their discomfort.

To be treated equally as a free wage-worker requires equal cultural freedom to enter into the wage relation. But women do not enter the market with the same cultural freedom as men. Men face lower unemployment rates than women. Women's role as mother contributes to this difference. Further, labor-market segmentation is exacerbated by the fact that men face conscription into the armed forces, so that the draft creates a relative labor shortage of male workers. From 1947 to 1962,

* Reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 15, 1969.

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when the armed forces averaged about two and a half million men, the yearly male unemployment rates averaged 4.6 percent, or only about 0.6 percent lower than the 5.2 percent for women during the same period. Since 1962, however, when the military averaged more than three million men, the male unemployment rate was only 3.83 percent, or about 1.67 percent lower than the 5.5 percent for women. Because they face the draft, men receive the "bonus" of lower unemployment rates. Furthermore, the typical work experience of women is to enter the labor market twice as many times as men do—once before they have children and once after the children are old enough to allow mothers to return to work. In recent years almost half of the unemployed women are "re-entering the labor force." In July 1969, the percentage of those women who were unemployed by reason of "losing the last job," was approximately 37, or close to their proportion of the total labor force; on the other hand, of persons unemployed by reason of "re-entering the labor force," women outnumbered men by 2.2 times. Finally, since the "provider" role is the father's, mobility is largely determined by his job opportunities, not the mother's; thus, the woman in two-worker families bears disproportionately any unemployment burden involved in mobility. Thus, the higher unemployment rates faced by women, while not independent of "discrimination," are largely due to the fact that women, in their role as mother in the nuclear family, enter the labor market on different terms than do men. The "natural market forces" do the rest.

The median income of women workers is only about 60 percent of the median income of men workers. There is no doubt some truth in the businessman's explanation of this difference, that women do have absentee rates two to four times higher than men's and the job tenure of women is about half that of men (2.8 years vs. 5.2 years).* It is the mother, not the father, who leaves the labor force to have children and then

* V. C. Perella, "Women and the Labor Force," *Monthly Labor Review,* February 1968, p. 9; H. R. Hamel, "Job Tenure of Workers, January 1966," *Monthly Labor Review,* January 1967, Special Labor Force report. p. 31.

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stays home from work when they need care. These factors entail more outlay for overtime and more frequent training of workers, adding to the costs of hiring women. Contributing to the lower median incomes of women are the facts that women are predominantly white-collar workers (about 60 percent of women workers), are relatively non-unionized (a situation made difficult to remedy due to low job tenure), have been competing with a rapidly expanding supply of women workers, and face some overt discrimination. In any case it is clear that, given women's conflict between rearing children and working, employers tend to hire women at jobs where training costs are relatively low and absenteeism is not costly.

Equal access to jobs outside the home, one of Benston's preconditions for women's liberation, will require that men and women become equally free of non-market norms of behavior. Perhaps the increasing discontent among women is due to the rapid proletarianization of women who are facing a market which expresses the contradiction between the non-market norms of motherhood and the market norms of free wage labor. If women were to attain equal pay and if parents were to share the practical child-care responsibilities, the contradiction between the nuclear family and free wage-labor under capitalism would become clear as employers turned from married to single workers because of their greater reliability and job tenure. Of course, as associates who agree that the emancipation of women requires, in addition to equality, the industrialization of housework and the socialization of child-rearing, we can struggle for the abolition of both the nuclear family and capitalism. But it should be clear that capitalism itself is undermining the nuclear family as mothers become workers. (Currently, in any month, almost 40 percent of mothers with children under eighteen are in the labor force.)

Lastly, we believe the data call into question Benston's statement that "no one, man or woman, takes women's participation in the labor force very seriously." The three fifths of working women who are married and contributing to family income probably take it very seriously. The dramatic recruitment of women into the labor force since the Second World

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War and the concomitant increasing exploitation of family labor have been largely responsible for the spread of the "middle-class life style." The U.S. Department of Labor aptly summarizes the situation as of March 1967:

Nearly half of all women 18 to 64 years of age work in any one month. About 3 out of 5 of these women are married and living with their husbands. Almost all of these wives contribute to family income. It is often the wife's earnings that raise family income above poverty levels. In other families the wife's contribution raises the family's income from low- to middle-income levels. In fact, it is at the middle-income level that the largest proportion of wives are in the labor force.

There were 42.6 million husband-wife families in the United States in March 1967. In 15 million of these families, the wife was in the paid labor force. In the husband-wife families where the wife was an earner, the median family income in 1966 was $9,246 a year. In those families where the wife did not work, the median family income was $7,128.

The likelihood of escaping poverty is much greater among husband-wife families when the wife is an earner than when she is not. Nearly 5 million husband-wife families had incomes of less than $3,000 in 1966. Only 5 percent of all husband-wife families fell into this income group when the wife was in the paid labor force; 15 percent, when she was not.

An income of about $7,000 in 1966 dollars is considered a modest but adequate income for an urban family of four. Twenty-nine percent of all husband-wife families had incomes below this mark when the wife was a worker; 49 percent, when she was not.

The higher the annual family income (up to $15,000), the greater is the likelihood that the wife is in the labor force. The labor force participation of wives in March 1967 was lowest (13 percent) in families with 1966 incomes of less than $2,000, and highest (53 percent) in families with incomes of $12,000 to $14,999.

Just how much do working wives contribute to family income? According to a study made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the median percent of family income in 1966 accounted for by the wife's earnings was 22.2 percent. However, when the wife worked full time year round, it was 36.8 percent.*

* U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Working Wives—Their Contribution to Family Income," December 1968.

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These data speak for themselves. The maintenance of the family's standard of living, and in many cases the avoidance of poverty, is now substantially dependent upon not one but two income earners. This is an irreversible process. Women's participation in wage labor can no longer be regarded as "transient." The time is past when women can go home again.

Is there an instance in all history of an oppressed class being secured in all their rights without assuming a "belligerent attitude"? Earnestness, determination, true dignity ofttimes require a "belligerent attitude." Just imagine some writer in the old Boston *Gazette* saying in the height of the Revolution of '76, "I am sorry James Otis, John Adams, Patrick Henry and George Washington are so belligerent. How disgraceful to the memory of the Puritans, for New England men to rush on board a vessel and pitch a whole cargo of tea into the harbor; what spiteful child's play was that! How much better to have petitioned King George and his Parliament in a dignified manner for a 'respectful consideration' of their grievances." . . . When we can get all our women up to the white heat of a "belligerent attitude," we may have some hope of our speedy enfranchisement.

—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1873

What is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others. It may be asserted without scruple that no other class of dependents have had their character so entirely distorted from its natural proportions by their relation with their masters. . . .

—John Stuart Mill

Woman was the first human being that tasted bondage, woman was a slave before the slave existed.

—August Bebel

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ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM

The following are extracts from a pamphlet entitled *Crimes Perpetrated by the U.S. Imperialists and Henchmen against South Vietnam Women and Children,* Giai Phong Publishing House, South Vietnam, 1968. We have included only those parts which appear to relate primarily to the conduct of U.S. forces. Until recently these revelations would doubtless have been dismissed by many as propaganda fabrications. In view of what is now known about the Song My massacre, this is evidently no longer possible. The description of what happened at Song My on March 16, 1968, on page 36 below is entirely consistent with what has been reported in the U.S. press. The number of persons killed is put at 502 which can be compared with "estimates of dead by surviving villagers [which] range from 370 to 567." (*New York Times,* News of the Week Section, November 23, 1969) What reason is there to doubt that the other revelations of this publication are equally accurate? And if their truthfulness is accepted, how can it possibly be maintained that responsibility for U.S. war crimes in Vietnam rests on others than the highest officials in the White House and the Pentagon who make U.S. policy and must be presumed to know how it is executed? History will pass on them the same judgment, even if it cannot pass the same sentences, as the Nuremberg Tribunal passed on the Nazi war criminals a quarter of a century ago. — The Editors.

The bosses at the White House and their lackeys in Saigon have tried by a systematic violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam to perpetuate the partition of our country and to turn its southern half into an American new-type colony and military base.*[1]

* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

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In an attempt to subdue the South Vietnamese people who are engaged in a just and resolute struggle to defend the sovereignty, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of their country and their right to live, the U.S. aggressors have launched in our land, the biggest colonial war the world has ever known, in view of its scope,[2] its savagery, and the fierceness in the massive utilization of weapons and toxic chemicals[3] and extreme methods and maneuvers to conduct the war.[4]

Under the "burn all, destroy all, kill all" policy, and with the massive use of B-52 strategic bombers, steel-pellet bombs, napalm, phosphorus and magnesium bombs, toxic chemicals, poison gas, and so on, the Yankees have committed monstrous crimes all over South Vietnam.

Their targets are not only military bases and operational areas but also populated areas, civilian people, mostly women and children. To carry out their scheme of hegemony, the U.S. imperialists have struck at both the present life of the people and the resources of the future generations.

"Beside the methods of mass slaughter, the U.S. aggressors have committed rapes against even pregnant women, women in confinement, old women, and teen-agers. Tens of thousands of South Vietnamese children have become depraved, victims of many incurable venereal diseases which affect their health and their life, and undermine the happiness and future of the South Vietnamese people."[5]

It is due to such Machiavellian designs that South Vietnam women and children have become the biggest victims of war in terms of the number of deaths as well as the physical and moral sufferings inflicted on them.

To open fire indiscriminately on the civilian population has become a customary practice of the GI's. The Saigon press itself has condemned most severely these heinous crimes.[6] American and puppet troops on January 31, 1968 took Mme. Le Thi Rieng, Vice-President of the South Vietnam Liberation Women's Union and member of the C.C. of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to Hong Bang street where they machine-gunned her to death together with many other patriots.

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Mme. Rieng had been imprisoned for a long time, and had been submitted to atrocious tortures.

Another intolerable crime is the extremely savage *massacre of women and children.* In a terrorist raid against Go Noi region, Dien Ban district, Quang Nam province, on July 12, 1967, the GI's coming from Da Nang massacred at a time 32 women and children in Phi Phu hamlet alone (Dien Quang village). The bodies of the victims were afterwards thrown into a trench and blown up by mines in order to make their identification impossible.[7]

On August 2, 1965, 6,000 U.S. marines supported by 100 aircraft and over 60 M-113 armored cars, raided 7 hamlets in Hoa Vang and Dien Ban districts, Quang Nam province. In Chau Son and Cam Ne hamlets alone, they massacred 79 women and children.[8]

On February 26, 1966, 4 battalions of Pak Jung Heui mercenaries in a terrorist raid against Binh An village, Binh Khe district, Binh Dinh province, massacred 288 people, among them 137 women and 76 children (74 percent of the victims). Many children were snatched from the arms of their mothers, flung headlong against a tree, torn apart and thrown into burning houses The brutes even thrust bayonets into the bellies of women including those with child.[9]

From November 19 to December 5, 1966, two U.S. battalions conducted together with one puppet battalion and 9 Pak Jung Heui companies a terrorist raid against 10 villages west of Son Tinh district, Quang Ngai province; 525 people were killed and 966 others wounded, mostly women and children. On November 19 alone, in Tra Binh hamlet, Tinh Tho village, 16 women and one child were killed. In Phuoc Binh Trung (Tinh Son village), the peasants working in the fields were herded together and gunned down. Fifty-four people, mostly women, were thus massacred. In Tinh Binh and Tinh Tho villages, many pregnant women, such as Mrs. Bai, Truong, Cuc, etc., were raped, then disembowelled, and the foetus pulled out. A baby of nearly one year named Thien was stabbed to death and disembowelled and his liver plucked off. Mrs. Le Thi Phan, 84, was gagged and thrown into a well.[10]

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In the period under review, the Pak Jung Heui mercenaries raided 9 villages in Binh Son district (Quang Ngai province) killing 700 people in the same savage manner as they did in Son Tinh. Particularly in An Phuoc hamlet inhabited by 550 people, 380 persons including all the women and children of the hamlet, were massacred (69 percent of the total population).

Troops of the U.S. 3rd Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division, on March 16, 1968 conducted a raid against Song My village, Son Tinh district, Quang Ngai province during which they killed 502 persons, including many women and over 170 children.

They marched over 100 women and children to the front yard of Mr. Nhieu and slaughtered them all with machine-gun fire and grenades. Mrs. Trinh and her four children, and Mrs. Hoa and her three children were later found dead in a shelter. More barbarous still, after murdering Mme. Phu, the raiders covered her body and her one-year-old baby with straw and set fire to the heap. They also incinerated her house.

Other South Vietnamese women and children were victims of U.S. toxic chemicals and gases. Because of their poor physical resistance, they can seldom survive.

In Bentre province alone, from 1961 to 1965, according to still incomplete data 1,870 women and 780 children were killed, 2,150 women and 930 children wounded, 31,500 women tortured, 4,020 imprisoned, 2,030 raped, among them numerous little girls.[11]

In Hoa Vang, Dien Ban, Duy Xuyen and Dai Loc districts (Quang Nam province), from the arrival of the U.S. expeditionary corps in February 1965 up to August 1966, there were:

— 4,650 civilians killed, including 3,220 women and 850 children (87 percent of the victims).

— 5,270 wounded, including 3,420 women and 1,050 children (84 percent).

— 6,200 imprisoned and tortured, including 4,120 women (82 percent).

— 750 women were raped, including 190 old women and 100 little girls below 15 years of age. One hundred eighty of them, i.e., 25 percent of the total, died afterwards.

With regard to the children, according to Agence France-

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Press, on December 22, 1966, William Pepper, Director of the Center for the Study and Research of Children of the Mercy College—a national Catholic institute in New York—gave the following figures after a 6-week investigation made in the spring of 1966 in South Vietnam: "250,000 children have been killed in the war since 1961, 750,000 others have been injured, disabled, or burnt by napalm. More than 10,000 are concentrated in orphanages, millions of others are living a miserable life in refugee centers (disguised concentration camps—Ed.). Most of them suffer from tuberculosis or typhus. Millions of others are wandering homeless in the towns, wasting away their time in begging. . . ." From January 30 to February 10, 1968, the U.S. aggressors and their stooges, using aircraft of all kinds including B-52 strategic bombers, artillery, warships, tanks, bulldozers, gas and noxious chemicals, attacked more than 130 towns and built-up areas, demolishing hundreds of thousands of houses, killing or wounding tens of thousands of persons, mostly women and children.

To attain the criminal objectives of their aggression, the U.S. imperialists have trampled underfoot and ignored international law, resorting to all prohibited means to strike at the entire Vietnamese people without distinction between fighters and civilians, military and civil targets, sparing neither women nor children, who are particularly protected by international law.

The percentage of women and children killed or wounded resulting from inhuman war acts by the U.S. is frightening. It often makes up 80 percent of the victims, and sometimes all women and children of a locality were annihilated as was the case in An Phuoc, Binh Son district, Quang Ngai province.

By waging an aggressive war against the South Vietnamese people's legitimate aspirations which are independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and reunification of the country, and causing extremely heavy damage and losses to them, especially women and children, the U.S. imperialists have committed the crime of aggression and crime against humanity. Their acts are brazen violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and numerous important international laws. Regarding the abominable crimes against women and children, the U.S.

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aggressors have trampled upon the provisions of international law well-known to the civilized world concerning the protection of civilians in war time, such as the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the 1949 Geneva Convention, the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and the basic principles of the Statute of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, endorsed by the United Nations and recognized as the foundation of international law.

The massacre, brutalities, and ill-treatment to which the South Vietnamese women and children are subjected, lie in the U.S. plan of exterminating a part of the Vietnamese people in order to bring the survivors to their knees. The U.S. imperialists have thereby committed the crime of genocide, as ruled by the Geneva Convention of December 9, 1948.

Brutally infringing upon the Vietnamese people's national sentiments, outraging the dignity and honor of Vietnamese women, doing away with their fine customs, and severely destroying the foundations of their society, thus affecting their future generations, the U.S. aggressors are doomed to eternal condemnation by the Vietnamese people.

Trampling underfoot the most elementary human rights in defiance of the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, they have perpetrated intolerable monstrous crimes against human civilization. Their brutalities towards South Vietnamese women and children constitute an insolent challenge to human conscience, in particular to the women and children in the world.

That is why the progressive forces and opinion the world over will not fail to strongly condemn the U.S. imperialists and resolutely struggle to stop their crimes against South Vietnamese women and children. The American aggression is at the root of all these heinous crimes. The only correct way to put an end to such a situation is to compel the U.S. imperialists to stop their war of aggression against Vietnam, withdraw their troops and weapons and those of their satellites from South Vietnam, and let the Vietnamese people settle their internal affairs by themselves.

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NOTES

1. On April 9, 1965 Senator Ernest Gruening said at the U.S. Congress: "At our request the Diem regime has refused to comply with the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on the conduct of general elections to reunify Vietnam."

2. By mid-May 1967, the effectives of the U.S. expeditionary army in South Vietnam reached 537,000 men, not including 63,000 men of the U.S. satellites and more than 755,000 puppet soldiers.

   U.S. war expenditures in Vietnam reached $32 billion in 1967. This is expected to increase by $6 billion in the current fiscal year. The scale of the U.S. aggressive war in South Vietnam has exceeded that of the Korean War in 1950-1953.

3. UPI has quoted Senator William Proxmire declaring that since 1965 the U.S. has dropped on Vietnam 2.2 million tons of bombs, much more than the tonnage used by the United States in World War II.

   The magazine *US News and World Report* on January 2, 1967 disclosed that the Americans had used in South Vietnam more artillery shells than the total it used during World War II.

   The AP disclosed on March 14, 1967: The U.S. continues to increase its chemical warfare. . . . The budget for the purchase of chemicals has reached $100 million.

4. AP, March 27, 1967: "The United States has devised a new method of fighting which consists in penetrating the Vietcong area, concentrating the population into resettlement camps (disguised concentration camps called "strategic hamlets," Ed.), then burning and destroying everything that remains."

   AP, June 12, 1968: "In April 1967, the United States dropped on Vietnam 120,660 tons of bombs."

5. Excerpt from the letter of the South Vietnam Association for the Protection of Mothers and Children to mothers of the world on the occasion of International Children's Day, June 1st, 1967.

6. Reuters, January 19, 1967: "Most Saigon newspapers have carried editorials protesting against the wanton shooting by American soldiers."

7, 8, 9. Excerpts from the denunciation of the NLF Committee in Quang Da province.

10. Excerpts from the urgent statement of the NLF of Central Trung Bo, December 22, 1966.

11. Excerpts from the denunciation of the NLF Committee in Bentre province, February 1966.

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CONFRONTING MYTHS IN LATIN AMERICA

BY JAMES D. COCKCROFT

From the Spanish Conquest to the present, the colonization of Latin America has meant the exploitation of people and the destruction of great cultures by the expanding forces of mercantilism and capitalism. The continued development of world capitalism has depended for its success upon the continued underdeveloping and exploiting of other parts of the world. This "development of underdevelopment," as Andre Gunder Frank has argued,* is the essence of colonialism and neo-colonialism. In this sense, there is no "third world" as such, since post-feudal global history is in fact the history of capitalist development and class conflict on a world-wide scale. With instinctive understanding of this process, Hernán Cortés surveyed the developed civilizations of the Mayas and Aztecs in New Spain and remarked: "I come for gold, not to till the land like a peasant."

As the subjugation of Latin America has proceeded in our own day, a number of myths have been created or encouraged by the dominant capitalist power, its cultural apparatus, and its friends in Latin America. The subtlety, persuasiveness, and effectiveness of these myths should not be underestimated, any more than historically we should underestimate the effectiveness

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* Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (Monthly Review Press, 1966; revised edition, 1969).

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of the various myths once spread by Spain through its administrative reforms, tax adjustments, and promises of more autonomy for Latin America. In the end, a war transcending the borders of the viceroyalties of Santa Fé, Perú, and Río de la Plata was necessary to throw off the yoke of Spain, and so today a similarly international struggle must occur if the control of the United States is to be broken.

The first myth, one which is especially seductive for the Latin American Left because of the propaganda value of its language, is that irrational land-tenure patterns are a historical product of the transfer of feudalism from the Old World to the New. Since agriculture in Latin America is feudal, a bourgeois agrarian reform is supposed to be needed to rationalize production and free the energies of the "bonded serfs" for work in the industrializing process.

The second myth is that of the "nationalist" and "progressive" bourgeoisie in Latin America. This myth is especially pervasive in the United States, where a book written in the 1950s by Professor John J. Johnson, a former high-level employee of the State Department and still one of its consultants, helped shape a generation of "experts," planners, and professors of Latin American affairs. The argument is twofold. First, to develop economically and politically, Latin America has to replace traditional forms of production and control (feudalism, militarism, clericalism, *caciquismo*) with modern ones (capitalism with a strong state sector in the economy, bourgeois democracy). Second, the groups to look to for this kind of transformation are the "middle sectors," defined as everyone from a high-paid skilled worker, low-level bureaucrat, small businessman or professional, to the enterprising big industrialist or banker. These "middle sectors," John J. Johnson and others argue, usually have a progressive and nationalist outlook, are separate from the traditional landed elite, and, together with unionized labor, are the most important groups leading the reform movements of the last fifty years.

The third myth, one which did not take long for history to expose as cynical and exploitative but which nevertheless has done great damage to the Latin American struggle for revolu-

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tionary change, is that the United States is a "good neighbor" and "benevolent partner," especially in the context of the Alliance for Progress (ALPRO) and the Peace Corps. Latin America's recent reception (and non-reception) of Nelson Rockefeller has been the clearest indication to date that this myth, *unlike* the first two upon which it is founded, has lost its vitality, at least for the moment.

The fourth myth is that the military in Latin America, because of its professional, "modernized" training, traditional power, and disciplined organization, is in the best position to lead what both President John F. Kennedy and Senator Robert F. Kennedy called "the inevitable revolution" in Latin America. According to this myth, as more and more officers and soldiers are trained in "democracy" at U.S. schools and with the aid of U.S. military missions in Latin America, the military will assume the role previously assigned to the "progressive" and "nationalist" bourgeoisie (myth number 2). At the same time, the Latin American militaries will become efficient in counterinsurgency techniques—not just napalm, scorched earth, and systematic starvation, but also house construction, food distribution, and "agrarian reform." This model is sociologically similar to urban renewal in the United States, where "renewal" is in practice "removal"—of people. This myth about the military does not yet, at least publicly, allow for a neighborly exchange of "democratic" expertise—for example, the opportunity for Latin American officers to instruct U.S. officers on how to make a military *coup d'état*. The purest model for this myth is not that of the *gorilas* of Brazil, Argentina, or Bolivia, even though they are portrayed by the bourgeois press as exemplary practitioners of economic development and democracy, but rather the new military regime in Peru, whose U.S.-trained leaders have napalmed and destroyed Andean villages, massacred peasants, jailed Hugo Blanco, and killed Lobatón and other revolutionaries.

The fifth myth, increasingly spread through the communications media in Latin America, is that the Catholic Church and even some *latifundistas* are undergoing a "change of heart," to such an extent that the Church and the landholders are now capable of transforming traditional, "backward," and under-

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developed Latin American society into a modern, advanced, developed, and democratic one.

The failure of the first three myths to deter revolutionary movements in Latin America or to moderate underdevelopment and dictatorship has generated an ostensible contradiction with the last two myths. The first three myths were perpetuated as an argument against traditionalism, meaning the "blocks to development" presented by the military, the Church, and the *latifundistas*. The last two myths call upon those very "blocks to development" to develop Latin America!

There are concrete historical causes for this most recent contradiction, and these causes are in fact the very development of capitalism which has helped perpetrate all of these myths and benefited from them. An understanding of this process means an unmasking of the myths and an intensified revolutionary fight in Latin America at a higher level of ideological and analytical clarity. This unmasking in turn means confronting a sixth myth: that of the failure of guerrilla warfare, supposedly manifested by the capture and murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia.

First, Latin American agriculture is not feudal. European feudalism was never transplanted to Latin America. Spain was itself in a post-feudal stage and therefore had no feudalism to transplant. More importantly, agriculture in Latin America was developed to service the mining sectors of the economy (gold and silver) with mules, horses, and food, and to export goods to Europe (hides, tallow, sugar, tobacco, cochineal, cacao). From the outset, then, Latin American agriculture was formed or, better said, deformed, in order to further the capitalist development of Europe. Agriculture has always been an integral part of the market economy, the very opposite of a self-sufficient, isolated, feudal economy. While it is true that during times of world depression Latin American haciendas and plantations have turned inward to produce for domestic self-consumption, it has never been true that Latin American agriculture has been feudal, even though the exploitation of the peasantry has been as cruel under capitalism as under feudalism—indeed, more

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cruel, since fewer services and less security are provided the peasant under capitalism.

According to classical bourgeois analysis, and according to the analysis of many of today's Communist Parties in Latin America, a fairly pure model of the evolution of agriculture in Latin America is Mexico. It is worth examining Mexico, then, not only as an example of the myth of feudalism, but as an example of the myth of a nationalist and progressive bourgeoisie, since Mexico is also often offered as a reformist model for other, "less advanced" Latin American countries.

As I have attempted to show elsewhere,* the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917 was not a bourgeois revolution against feudalism. Both the Director of Agriculture and the Minister of Development of the Díaz Government in early 1911 described Mexican agriculture as "capitalist exploitation," consisting of a tiny class of "capitalist farmers" producing for the market and a huge class of "rural proletarians" (their words for the *campesinos* and peons who worked the haciendas). According to the 1910 Census, 96.6 percent of rural family heads held no land whatsoever.

The first President of Mexico after the overthrow of Díaz, Francisco I. Madero, was himself a capitalist farmer, fascinated with modern techniques of agriculture. When the rural proletariat, led in significant part by Zapata, fought against the capitalist landowners, it became necessary for the latter, led by Carranza (himself a *latifundista* and senator and governor during the Díaz regime), to oppose the Revolution by pretending to champion it and proposing its own agrarian reform (the decree of January 6, 1915). In the complex developments of this civil war, enough progressives, led by Obregón, joined Carranza's camp to win over urban workers (*Casa del Obrero Mundial*—"Red Battalions," February 1915) and eventually smash the peasant movement of Zapata and Villa. As a necessary concession, the 1917 Constitution granted the peasants and workers Articles 27 and 123 which received substantive support only briefly, in the 1930s under Cárdenas.

* Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

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Even under Cárdenas, the ruling bourgeoisie and U.S. investors were not seriously threatened, since the separation between urban and rural workers, begun in 1915, was maintained (today's *Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos,* CTM, and *Confederación Nacional Campesina,* CNC). While conflicts did occur between segments of the domestic bourgeoisie and of the foreign bourgeoisie, these conflicts never extended beyond a few areas (oil, railroads, 1938) and thus never seriously threatened the perpetuation and rationalization of the capitalist system in Mexico. On the contrary, reforms like nationalization served to strengthen the system. Indeed, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt communicated to Mexico when Cárdenas came to power that some kind of "New Deal" reformism in Mexico would be welcomed by the United States.

In brief, the development of capitalism in Mexico from its inception involved a capitalist rural sector, a rural proletariat, and the formation of a domestic bourgeoisie subservient to a foreign bourgeoisie (Frank's metropolis-satellite scheme). In 1910 almost one fifth of Mexico's land area and most of its industry were controlled by foreigners. Landed families had urban and industrial interests as well, and almost all of Mexico's bourgeoisie collaborated with the dominant foreign capitalists. Class formation in Mexico thus developed an overlap between industrialists, bankers, merchants, and the landed elite, as it did in other parts of Latin America, for example Chile.* Today Mexico's economy, in spite of the post-1910 reforms—indeed, because of these reforms which have rationalized the system, modernized it, and momentarily defused the revolutionary push of the masses—is dominated by the metropolis (United States), with the Mexican bourgeoisie's added enrichment of being able to serve as a sub-metropolis over Central American satellites and LAFTA trading partners.

The myth of a nationalist and progressive bourgeoisie is a basic premise of a third myth, that of the benevolent North

* See Dale L. Johnson, "Industrialization, Social Mobility, and Class Formation in Chile," in Cockcroft, Frank, and Johnson, *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Latin America* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1970) (Spanish edition).

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American partner manifested in the ALPRO and Peace Corps. Incorporated into the ALPRO and Peace Corps were the bourgeois reformist ideologies of the APRA-style parties (AD in Venezuela, *Auténticos* in Cuba, PRD in the Dominican Republic, Liberals in Costa Rica, PRI in Mexico, Radicals in Argentina, Christian Democrats in Chile, etc.). The reality, however, as Frank, Dale L. Johnson, and I attempt to explain in more detail in our forthcoming book,* has been to use the Latin American bourgeoisie and the "middle sectors" as the willing tools for extending and solidifying U.S. capitalist and cultural control over Latin America. In addition, from its inception, ALPRO has been a device for hardening military control over the masses,** while the Peace Corps has facilitated this trend by bolstering the status quo through dependence upon, and cooperation with, the established oligarchic regimes in Latin America and the overall expansionist foreign policy of the U.S. government. Thus, the occurrence of fourteen military coups in Latin America in a period of four years under ALPRO was *not* a contradiction, but a logical corollary of ALPRO. Where the military did not rule openly, as in Venezuela, it ruled behind the scenes with the approval and cooperation of the domestic (satellite) bourgeoisie.

Frightened by the example of the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. and Latin American bourgeoisies formulated the colossal fraud of the ALPRO. When honest revolutionaries rose up against this further colonization of the peoples of Latin America—guerrilla bands or peasant leagues were formed in almost every Latin American republic, including Mexico—the "progressive" middle sectors were the first to rally against them. Some of the peasant organizations were themselves led by bourgeois reformers, as in the case of Francisco Julião in Brazil. The futility of this approach—and the real class nature of the middle sectors—were made evident in the 1964 *coup d'état* against the reformist government of Goulart in Brazil. Street demonstra-

* Cockcroft, Frank and Johnson, *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Latin America.*

** See various chapters in Cockcroft, Frank, and Johnson.

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tions in support of the *gorilas* were led by the progressive middle sectors. When a real turn to the Left was made, by arming the masses, as in Santo Domingo, 1965, the ALPRO suffered its final unmasking. Twenty-five thousand U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic and crushed the revolt, in spite of the fact that earlier the Dominican Republic, under Bosch, in whose name the 1965 revolt was launched, had been a short-lived model of the reformist ALPRO and the benevolent partner.

It is no coincidence that the author of the "middle sectors" argument, John J. Johnson, came to champion in the 1960s the fourth myth, that of the progressive military. With the middle sectors now exposed as reactionary (except for those who declassed themselves and became guerrillas or urban terrorists), and with the military now in power overtly or covertly in Latin America, it became necessary to create a fictitious cover of reformism for the reality of reaction. Brazil's economy was further handed over to the control of U.S. monopoly capital, and in turn Brazil's role as sub-metropolis was extended, economically into Paraguay and Uruguay, politically throughout the southern half of South America. The mass media throughout the continent wrote of the "efficient" and "democratic" regimes of such "reform-minded" Presidents as Castelo Branco, Costa e Silva, Onganía, and Barrientos (now, Ovando). The reality—and the contradiction of capitalist underdevelopment in Latin America—were further accentuated by the militarization of control over populations in such alleged "democracies" as Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile, where workers, peasants, and students have been shot with increasing frequency.

Peru's military government has, up to this moment, served only to obfuscate the clarity of these contradictions. The Peruvian junta most approximates the ideal image of a progressive and nationalist military. Yet even in its most positive aspects, it has not yet done anything beyond the kind of intelligent reform undertaken by Mexico in the 1930s. If Nixon were another Roosevelt, one would not expect anything different to occur as a result. However, even as in Mexico in 1938, so in Peru in 1969, the international forces at work are not entirely predictable. If the contradictions within the ruling classes of Peru and

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the United States become greatly intensified, or if the workers and peasants in Peru are given arms, or if the United States intervenes militarily or establishes an economic blockade of Peru, we can expect today's momentary opening to the Left to become either a real revolution or such a repressive reaction as to create another Dominican Republic or Vietnam, depending on the correlation of forces. At this point there is not enough evidence on Peru to counteract the rest of the evidence which unmasks the myth of the progressive military in Latin America. Indeed, it seems more likely that Peru's reforms will simply rationalize capitalist production and strengthen foreign and bourgeois control in the long run, as occurred in Mexico.

Finally, we come to the "progressive" Church and large landholders. The latter are today's and tomorrow's agri-businessmen, corporate farmers who modernize production techniques and who are usually related to, or identical with, urban-industrial interests and foreign capitalists. Argentina, where Massey-Ferguson has just bought out West German interests to gain control of tractor production, is an example of today's advanced capitalist "development" (underdevelopment) in Latin America. As Vargas, Polit, Dos Santos, and others have shown, U.S. capitalists, abetted by U.S. foreign-aid programs, have penetrated the Argentine economy, using capital-intensive devices of production, taking advantage of the restrictive monetary policies of the International Monetary Fund which hold wages down, and heightening the long-run contradictions between the propertied class and the labor force.

The present period of industrialization in almost all of Latin America is capital-intensive. The old argument that agrarian reform releases needed hands for industrial work makes no sense. In Venezuela, for example, when the textile industry began a new expansion phase under Betancourt, what happened was that further mechanization laid off more workers than were newly hired. Reflecting the irrationality of this period of capitalist "development" are Latin America's urban slums, where from one quarter to one half of a city's population dwell in shacks and suffer terrible hunger and disease. Only in Cuba, under socialism, has involuntary unemployment been eliminated,

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while elsewhere in Latin America the rate of unemployment ranges from 10 to 40 percent. "Progressive" large landholders, then, while paying lip service to agrarian reform on behalf of the peasants, are in practice rationalizing and mechanizing production further, preserving the best lands for themselves, and encouraging agrarian reform through colonization of new areas and distribution of less fertile lands. (Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia are well-known examples.)

Chile is a good example of the refurbishing of the image of the Church. In many respects, the myth of the progressive Church is the same as that of the reformist political parties and progressive middle sectors and bourgeoisie. By the myth of the progressive Church we do not, of course, mean honest Catholic revolutionaries like Camilo Torres, whose life and death best illustrate how mythological the progressiveness of the Church in fact is.

All of these myths, which honest revolutionaries like Venezuela's Fabricio Ojeda, Peru's Lobatón, and Colombia's Camilo Torres have found it necessary to write about and discuss with fellow Latin Americans in order to curtail their effect and unmask them for what they are—a device for further U.S. penetration and control of Latin American economies—are, historically, not recent or new. The anti-popular role of Latin America's bourgeoisie, even in its most progressive dress of reformism, has had to be confronted by revolutionaries from Zapata to Sandino, Mariátegui to Castro. The rapidity with which the Cuban Revolution moved from alleged "feudalism" to socialism, transcending the "bourgeois stage" in less than two years, was in fact a reflection of objective conditions in capitalist, colonialized Cuba of the previous period. It used to be said, back in 1959-1960, that the old Cuban Communist Party (PSP) had to be "dragged, kicking and squealing," into the socialist period. Today's Communist Parties in many Latin American countries seem even less willing to meet this reality. (Cuba's party has meanwhile integrated with the Revolution and, with the exception of sectarians like Escalante, has provided considerable help to the Revolution through its skills, manpower, and work.)

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The betrayal of revolutionary movements by Latin American Communist Parties, especially naked and obvious in Venezuela and Bolivia where the parties have opposed guerrilla movements and contributed to their setbacks, is not merely a reflection of bad intent. Many students, workers, and peasants attracted to the Communist Parties are sincerely mistaken in their analysis of objective conditions and believe, in one form or another, most of the myths described here. In other words, incorrect analysis by the Communist Parties has contributed much to the loss of lives in Latin America, in spite of (in some cases at least) honorable intentions.

In these terms, then, I would agree with Frank that the "immediate enemy" in Latin America consists of the satellite and collaborationist bourgeoisies and their political spokesmen.* Similarly, with Fidel, Che, and Debray, we might add that the Communist Parties which accept incorrect analyses and oppose guerrilla warfare are in fact betraying the Latin American Revolution. This is not to deny that the major enemy in the continent continues to be U.S. imperialism and its forces of economic control and military repression. To defeat imperialism will take far more than the example of the Cuban Revolution, where imperialism has already received its first defeat in the hemisphere. Prolonged guerrilla warfare on an international scale is necessary to bring "the monster," as Martí called it, to its knees.

This brings us to the last and most pernicious myth being circulated by both the bourgeoisie and the mistaken forces of the Left in Latin America: the notion that guerrilla warfare is not a viable tactic today, as indicated by the death of Che. It is argued that U.S. technology and counterinsurgency skills are too formidable for the underdeveloped nations to confront. If that is the case, then how does one explain the victories of the Vietnamese people? How does one explain the beginning, continuation, and extension of guerrilla struggle in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia? How does one explain the popular victories in Portuguese Africa? U.S. Special

* Frank, "Who Is The Immediate Enemy?" (speech delivered to the Cultural Congress in Havana, 1968), in Cockcroft, Frank, and Johnson.

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Forces (Green Berets), military equipment, and napalm are being used in at least eight Latin American countries today, and probably more. Yet guerrilla movements continue to grow in spite of momentary setbacks. Che, like Bolívar before him, saw the necessity of internationalizing the struggle if the colonial master were to be defeated. The enemy forces are already united in an international military front. To submit to that kind of military imbalance by avoiding international armed response would be to cost Latin America yet more lives in the process of repression, increased underdevelopment, poverty, hunger, disease, and suffering. Fidel in the Second Declaration of Havana and other revolutionaries have repeatedly pointed out these harsh facts of life.

Che's death was of course a severe blow, but the war has only begun. Already, hundreds of men throughout Latin America have responded to Che's battle-cry in both rural guerrilla areas and urban centers. These revolutionaries have taken up Che's dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory. Their fight will be long and hard, for there are no other alternatives. As with the Vietnamese people so with the Latin Americans—the struggle is a historical one. Zapata, Sandino, and Che, in this sense, live, and victory will be theirs.

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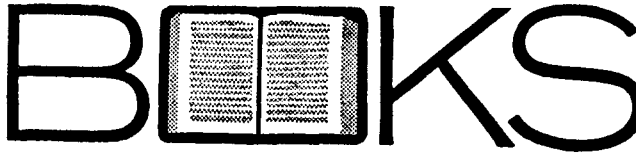

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA

BY RICHARD MORROCK

Armed Struggle in Africa: With the Guerrillas in "Portuguese" Guinea, by Gérard Chaliand. Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1969; $5.50. Introduction by Basil Davidson. Translated by David Rattray and Robert Leonhardt.

The Liberation of Guiné: Aspects of an African Revolution, by Basil Davidson. Penguin African Library, Baltimore, 1969; $1.45.

The Struggle for Mozambique, by Eduardo Mondlane. Penguin African Library, 1969; $1.65.

Not many Americans are well-informed about the revolutionary struggles now under way in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese-occupied Guinea. Recently the American press has featured reports of growing opposition within Portugal to the wars which she has been pursuing in her three African possessions. And there are infrequent stories by journalists covering the Portuguese side in these wars, whose tone usually ranges from cautious optimism to near-psychedelic euphoria. These latter reports are not hard to explain. The Portuguese government awards an "Antonio Ferro prize"—named after a biographer of Salazar—to the journalists who write the best accounts in foreign publications of life in Portugal or its colonies.

None of the three books under review is likely to qualify for an Antonio Ferro prize. Chaliand's *Armed Struggle in Africa* is an eyewitness account of the revolution in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, and includes an excellent analysis of the prospects for successful revolutions in the rest of tropical Africa. Davidson's *The*

Richard Morrock is a frequent contributor to MONTHLY REVIEW.

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Liberation of Guiné is a well-written work which borrows heavily from Chaliand and helps to bring the story up to date. Mondlane's *The Struggle for Mozambique* is more descriptive than analytical, and appears to be aimed at a broader—i.e., not necessarily radical—audience. In consequence, Mondlane has a great deal to tell us about the past, while Davidson and Chaliand say much about the future.

The country about which Chaliand and Davidson write is a torrid wedge of territory sandwiched between Senegal and the Republic of Guinea. It contains barely three-quarters of a million inhabitants, 30 per cent of whom are Moslems, and the remainder mainly pagan. The Portuguese rule with their customary mailed fist, and have not been above creating widespread famine in the Guinean countryside by selling the colony's entire rice crop overseas in order to raise foreign exchange. Alone among all the nationalist movements in West Africa, the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) was obliged to function underground. In 1959, after the Portuguese had responded to a dock-workers' strike by killing fifty of the strikers, the PAIGC decided to embark on the road of armed struggle.

Chaliand emphasizes the fact that the PAIGC did not take up arms until it was certain that the population was prepared to join in the revolution. More than two years passed between the massacre of the dock-workers and the first armed clashes between the Portuguese and the PAIGC. During that time, PAIGC organizers were hard at work among the peasants, encouraging them to articulate their grievances against colonial rule, winning over the influential village elders, and recruiting members. Even after the war had begun, there were tribes which remained passive because their leaders had been bought off with favors by the Portuguese. The PAIGC is currently at work among these tribes, showing the people that it is not in their interests to cooperate with their reactionary chiefs.

The Guinean revolution has many salient characteristics which remind one of China and Vietnam. The PAIGC is careful to keep its armed forces subordinated to its political leadership, rather than the other way around. Both a regular army and a local militia have been created. Liberated areas have been set up, and now comprise more than half of the country's territory. In these areas, the PAIGC has increased production, raised the people's level

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of political consciousness, introduced modern medicine, and begun to eliminate the almost universal illiteracy. The popular support the PAIGC has won makes it possible to conduct a successful people's war against the Portuguese, despite the considerable military assistance which the latter are receiving from the United States, West Germany and their other NATO allies.

The strategy of the PAIGC differs sharply from those of the Latin American guerrilla groups which have been analyzed by Régis Debray in his various writings. Generalizing from the experience of the Cuban revolution (and, apparently, also from that of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement), Debray concluded that the revolutionary party must be entirely subordinated to the revolutionary armed forces, that no division between local militia and regular guerrilla army was necessary, and that political work among the peasants was superfluous. Operating on these assumptions, Che Guevara began his Bolivian campaign in a rural area where the leftist parties, overwhelmingly urban in composition, had done no political work. None of his guerrillas even spoke the local language. As a result, Guevara's group was wiped out, not a single peasant having been recruited in the eight months of its existence.

Chaliand and Davidson help to explain why the rival nationalist movements in Angola—the UPA and the MPLA—have been unable to make as much headway as the PAIGC in Guinea. They attribute the failures in Angola to lack of political work among the peasants, to an unwarranted faith in spontaneous popular uprisings, and to excessive reliance on assistance from foreign allies. "An organization may call itself pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese," comments Chaliand, "but in fact, if it has been severed for years from its own national reality, then it is no better than a lifeless appendage." (p. 104) In contrast to the MPLA, which operates from bases in Zambia and the former French Congo, and to the UPA, which recruits its forces from among refugees in the former Belgian Congo, the PAIGC has established itself firmly in the country, and has struck deep roots among the population—not just among members of one tribe, or among the educated minority. Whatever may happen to sympathetic governments in neighboring countries, the PAIGC will be able to continue the fight against the Portuguese.

Badly battered by the PAIGC, still heavily committed in Angola, hard pressed in Mozambique, and facing increasing resistance at home, the Portuguese colonialists are now looking for a

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way out of their Guinean morass. Wary of the PAIGC's socialist proclivities, however, they are reluctant to abandon their investments. They are now making a desperate attempt to work out an arrangement with a small, more pliable Guinean political party called FLING. (No pun intended; it stands for "Front for the Liberation of National Independence of Guinea.") Portugal may be considering the creation of a puppet government run by FLING, which would proclaim Guinea's "independence" and then invite the Portuguese to stay on as "allies" to help fight against the PAIGC. Apparently, Portugal's hope is to buy time with this maneuver by dividing the African nationalist camp. But her inflexibility concerning her colonies—which are regarded as integral parts of the mother country, rather than as mere possessions—is likely to stand in the way of even a sham independence for "Portuguese" Guinea.

Whatever the outcome of the struggle in Guinea, the revolution in Mozambique is likely to have even more profound ramifications for the future of Africa and the world. Guerrillas of FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) now control two of the colony's nine provinces, and operate in portions of three others. Eduardo Mondlane was a founder of FRELIMO and led the organization until his assassination by the Portuguese secret police early in 1969. His book is a significant contribution to the literature on revolutionary movements in the Third World.

The first part of Mondlane's book describes conditions under Portuguese rule. Forced labor was used by the French, Belgians, and Italians in their colonial territories, and is still used by the Portuguese in Guinea and Angola; but only in Mozambique does this system of near-slavery enjoy, in one form or another, almost universal application. Mondlane lists six different kinds of forced labor, including the mandatory cultivation of certain cash crops. Some peasants, employed against their will on Portuguese plantations, work for as little as seven cents per day. Because of the forced labor system, hundreds of thousands of Africans emigrate to South Africa and Rhodesia to seek work for two-year periods in the mines. South African gold mines, which produce a low quality of ore, depend for their existence upon this ample supply of very cheap labor. South Africa is therefore anxious to keep the Portuguese firmly in control of Mozambique, and now has several armed units stationed there, across the Zambezi river from a major combat zone.

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Exiles in British East and Central Africa founded the first Mozambican nationalist parties, which merged in 1962 to form FRELIMO. As in Guinea, two years were devoted to the clandestine mobilization of the people in preparation for the revolution. By 1964, the Portuguese had learned from their informers that trouble was brewing; nevertheless, as in nearly every rebellion in Africa, the colonial authorities were caught off guard.

In anticipation of hit-and-run attacks from across the Tanzanian border, the Portuguese began the forcible evacuation of African peasants from the frontier area. Thousands fled into Tanzania, while others were resettled further south.

FRELIMO, however, had prepared not for harassing action but for a full-scale people's war against the Portuguese Armed Forces, a war which would eventually lead to the defeat or surrender of the Portuguese. This underestimation of our intent was certainly beneficial to us in the early stages of the war.

. . . FRELIMO forces . . . were not going to "invade" the country, as the Portuguese expected, but were, indeed, already there, reconnoitering the Portuguese positions and gathering new recruits. (p. 138)

Since the beginning of the war in September, 1964, FRELIMO has made slow but steady progress. Portuguese casualties have sharply increased, there have been a number of desertions from the Portuguese army, and a fifth of the country has been liberated. FRELIMO is now setting up an embryonic administration in the liberated zone, and has started a local militia.

One major factor in the Mozambique war is the presence in the colony of foreign investors from the United States and Western Europe. The Portuguese were once reluctant to admit foreign capital to their colonies unless Portuguese citizens were allowed to purchase half of the stock. After 1961, their attitude changed. Investors from Europe and America were welcomed with open arms. Not only did their money help the Portuguese develop their African territories, thus making them more attractive to white settlers, but—more important—it gave other nations a stake in maintaining the status quo. This goes far to explain the shifts in American policy; once critical of Portugal, the United States now appears to be fully committed to its ally's war efforts in Africa.

It is impossible to foretell the outcome of these anti-colonial struggles with any degree of certainty. However, one can be con-

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fident that certain developments are *not* likely to take place. First, the Africans of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea will not become reconciled to Portuguese oppression. Second, the Portuguese fascists are not going to grant independence to their colonies, at least not until they have been totally defeated on the battlefield. And third, the other nations which have invested money in Mozambique and Angola are not going to stand idly by, if their sources of profits are interfered with. Whether the NATO powers will intervene directly in Portuguese Africa, whether they will merely finance the colonialist efforts while others (Portuguese, South Africans, mercenaries) do the actual fighting, or whether they will bank on potentially conservative elements within FRELIMO and the Angolan movements, no one can presently say. During the next few years, however, we will probably be referring a great deal to these three books.

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Stop-Off in Israel, November 1969

During the first week of November 1969 I attended a conference in Jerusalem and so had my second glimpse of Israel. My first visit was in 1962.

Israel in 1969 has recovered from the disruptive effects of the 1967 war, is still elated by the easy victory, and is settling the newly-won territories. Particularly satisfying to the Israelis is the unification of Jerusalem, under Israel's control.

1968 marked the twentieth anniversary of Israeli nationhood. It also recorded widened boundaries, greater productivity, and a notable increase in the volume and variety of available goods and services. Israel's land area had been 8,000 square miles in 1948; with its new territories it is 24,000 in 1969. Her population had been 879,000 in 1948. It was 2,773,900 in 1967 and approximately 3.8 million in the autumn of 1969.

Every aspect of Israeli life seemed to be booming. In the countryside crops have been harvested and fall plowing is under way. In the cities public transportation is regular, clean, and efficient. Public and private building operations are going on all over the country. City streets are filled and over-filled with traffic. Excellently paved roads connect the cities, with limited-access highways making their appearance. Autos, trucks, and busses are everywhere.

City people are up early in the morning, leaving home by 7:00 A.M. for their daily tasks. Stores are well-stocked. Customers throng the streets. In cities and suburbs crowds are well-dressed and well-shod. I saw no ragged clothing, and fewer beggars than in New York or Chicago. Day or night the streets are safe for pedestrians. I walked the narrow winding alleys in the walled city of Jerusalem and felt safer than on the open

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streets of New York. There is little stealing and no mugging. I heard of no gang life. People in Israel read with amazement that policemen are being stationed in New York City schools to maintain order.

Every part of Israel that I visited this winter strengthened and underscored the impression of growth and strength. Children and young people were outstanding in vigor and enthusiasm. The health level in Israel is excellent and everywhere there seems to be a generous crop of bouncing babies.

Israel's population is in every sense cosmopolitan. Migrants from Europe, Africa, America, and other parts of Asia are arriving constantly (15,730 in 1966; 14,327 in 1967). Hebrew is the official language, but Jews come from all parts of the world, so many languages are spoken. All over Israel, but especially in the kibbutzim, there are large numbers of young people born in foreign lands who have come to Israel to spend months or years, working and sampling the collective life which is so different from their free-enterprise origins. Despite this heterogeneous background, Israeli society, with one exception, lives a remarkably homogeneous life.

Year-round tourism is a prominent feature of Israeli life. Many Jews pay visits to the motherland whenever they can afford it. Large numbers of Christian pilgrims visit the holy places in Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jerusalem. I spent a wholly satisfactory night at a pilgrim's hostel at Nazareth. Later, on the mountains of Galilee I put up in a youth hostel which was filled with crews of youthful olive-pickers. Many of the kibbutzim provide visitors with bed and board at modest fees in pleasant guest houses. An official tourist agency helps to give excellent service to the floods of visitors.

Israeli Versus Arab Culture

In a preceding paragraph I wrote that life in Israel is homogeneous with one notable exception, which is the conflict between Jews and Arabs. When the Balfour Declaration was made in 1917 Arabs outnumbered Jews in Palestine. Today Jews outnumber Arabs. Israel is surrounded by Moslem countries in which Arabs predominate.

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The Balfour Declaration gave the Jewish people the possibility of colonizing Palestine. The project was resented and resisted by the Arabs. For centuries Palestine and the Near East had been populated by Jews and Arabs, with the Arabs predominating. The formation of Israel was promoted by Zionist Jews who considered Jerusalem their holy city and Palestine the homeland from which they had been excluded by centuries of Arab rule.

Until the War of 1967, part of Jerusalem was occupied by Jordan. When the Israeli troops won control of the entire city during the Six-Day War their commander, Moshe Dayan, now the Defense Minister, declared that Jewish armies had reunited the city and that the Jews proposed to stay there forever.

Military victory and occupation do not solve social problems. Often they create or intensify them. The 1967 war gave the Israelis thousands of square miles to administer, territory which had been under the control of nearby Arab states.

Immediately after the Balfour Declaration the Jews who proposed to set up a sovereign state in Palestine had faced a critical decision. The territory which they proposed to incorporate into the new state was populated by Arabs and Jews, most of whom were native Palestinians. What were to be the relations between the two groups?

There was a sharp division of opinion among the Jews. The Zionists wanted a Jewish state, populated by Jews and ruled by Jews. Their Jewish opponents proposed a bi-racial state, in which Jews and Arabs would have equal rights and responsibilities.

Judah Magnes, a prominent New York rabbi, had settled in Israel, where he became head of the Jerusalem University. Dr. Magnes and his associates urged a policy that would make the new state a refuge for oppressed people of all nations—a cosmopolitan, libertarian, humanistic, peaceful society, and a shining light in a dark, stormy, war-torn world.

Zionists won out over their opponents and set up a Jewish national state, with Hebrew as the official language, the Jewish religion as the dominant religion, and Jews occupying the critical command posts. Today there are numerous Arab villages

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in Israel headed by Arabs, but the mayors of all important cities in Israel proper are Jews. There are only a few Arabs in the Israeli parliament and not a single Arab member of the ministry which governs Israel. Legally, Palestine-born Jews and Arabs are equal; actually, the Jews are in control. As the Israeli state developed, the predominance of Jews and their culture over Arabs and their culture became more pronounced.

Arab culture had centered around animal husbandry, small farming, and merchandising. Consequently, for most Arabs the living standards were primitive and low, as they had been for centuries of Arab rule.

Jewish culture was largely imported into Palestine. The Zionist movement came from outside. The money raised by the United Jewish Appeal ($730 million in 1969) came chiefly from countries like the United States, Britain, Germany, Holland, and France in which the scientific and technological revolution was far advanced. The native Arab culture was comparatively poor—in science, technology and working capital. The imported Jewish culture was rich in all three items. Consequently, from the beginning of the Israeli state the Jews tended to dominate, not only because they held the command posts but because, in terms of the present-day world, Arab culture was medieval and Jewish culture was modern.

Arab living standards remained as they had been for centuries. The higher Jewish living standards took over as a matter of course. Faster communication, better transportation, effective educational and health services, Western technology, and advanced agriculture lifted the culture of Palestine out of its medieval status and transformed it during less than a generation into a largely Western and largely modernized pattern.

On a trip to the Golan Heights, which was Syrian territory before the war of 1967, I saw backward, small-scale agriculture already being replaced by large-scale plowing and seeding. Quite obviously the change-over from Syrian to Israeli control was galling to many Syrians but it was equally obvious that the new wage and salary levels and the new social services would soon give the backward Arab countryside a standard of well-being far higher than it had enjoyed under Syrian control.

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What About the Arabs?

Through the years since 1948, Arabs inside and outside of Palestine have been under pressure to recognize and accept a state using Hebrew as the official language, recognizing Jewish religious observances, and advertising itself as the Jewish motherland. Those Palestinian Arabs who made no protest were incorporated into the new social order. Legally Arabs enjoy the rights of all native-born citizens. Actually they are subject to discrimination. They are not accepted in the Israeli army. They have difficulties in getting passports. They are not allowed in sensitive governmental posts. During my stay in Israel several hundred Jewish employees in a factory went on strike because twenty-eight Arabs were employed by the management. Under the tensions developed during the present undeclared war between Arab terrorists and the Israeli armed forces, anti-Arab feeling in Israel and anti-Israeli feeling in the surrounding Arab countries have boiled over repeatedly.

Some Palestine-born Arabs who remained in Israel after the Six-Day War lost their jobs. In some cases their land had been confiscated by the Israeli military with compensation which was inadequate from the Arab viewpoint. If Arabs persisted in their resistance to Israeli policy they were driven from their villages.

The *Jerusalem Post* of November 13, 1969 carried a front-page story from Tel Aviv describing a press conference with Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. "Mr. Dayan said the population of the administered areas wants the best of both worlds—living better than they had done under the Jordanians, and supporting the terrorists. 'This we cannot afford,' he declared. 'We do not wish to impose undue hardship on the population, but we shall act to crush terrorists and to punish those who help them.' He reported that forty-three houses from which terrorists had operated had been demolished in the Gaza Strip and ninety-seven in Judea and Samaria since April 1."

Near Rosh Pinna, about seven miles from the pre-1967 Syrian border, I walked through an Arab settlement recently levelled by bulldozers. The charge against the settlement was

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that it had harbored terrorists and had shot at Rosh Pinna villagers.

On several occasions I had oportunities to talk with Arabs in their own villages and homes. I spent an afternoon in the house of a young Arab who was an employee of the telegraph office in Haifa. With this man was an Arab school teacher whose wage of 300 Israeli pounds per month (about $100) was the same as that paid to Jews by the educational authorities for similar services, but he resented the status of second-class citizen to which Israeli Arabs have been reduced. My Arab hosts were not resisting the Israeli government but they were convinced that a qualified Arab was at a grave disadvantage.

After the 1948 War of Independence, for one reason or another, hundreds of thousands of Arabs left their homes in Israel and fled across the frontiers into Arab territory, where many of them lived in refugee camps, awaiting a return to their homes. For years conditions in these camps were an international scandal; this was one of the charges most frequently directed against Israel by the Arabs. During the Six-Day War in 1967, as the Israeli armies advanced, many of these refugees left their desolate camps to move farther back into Arab territory.

Jewish Zionists, by setting up a nationalist state on territory populated chiefly by Arabs, have created a conflict situation that converts the Near East into a tinderbox. At the moment war is continuing at a guerrilla level. Anti-Israeli feeling is prevalent throughout the Arab world. It was voiced by President Nasser in an incendiary speech to the Egyptian Parliament early in November. It was re-echoed through the Conference of Thirteen Arab Nations that met in Cairo immediately after the Nasser tirade.

Walking along a highway near the Lebanon frontier, I was given a lift by a United Nations observer from Beirut. I commented on the quiet appearance of the border. He replied: "Don't fool yourself. We expect fireworks within sixty days."

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(*Continued from inside front cover*)

such as forms of African feudalism. Who then will do this research, needed for the advance of society as well as science, if not people like you who recognize the significance of such research? If you drop out, then the field will be left to the good-boy-and-girl mediocrities. Wouldn't it be better to take the burdens and the stupidities, squeeze your teachers dry for what they have to offer in bibliography, procedures, etc., do your 'penance' in some irrelevant tribal rite prescribed by the authorities who grant the degree, and thereby create the conditions under which you might have some opportunity to do what is needed? You need not become obsolete in such a procedure, as you fear. Yes, of course, there is always the danger that you might; but there is a good chance that the period of servitude may be but a prelude to greater independence."

We recently spent an evening discussing matters of mutual interest with members of the Africa Research Group which has its base in Cambridge, Mass. ARG distributes literature (both its own and others') of interest to the Left on Africa. If you are interested, send for a list of "Literature Available through the Africa Research Group." The address is P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

On December 10 we received the following cable from the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), which has its headquarters in Havana: "Latest police aggression against Panther Party's Chicago chapter and arrest of David Hilliard fully confirm government policy aimed at destroyed Black Panther Party and eliminating its most outstanding militants and leaders by means of imprisonment and murder. We strongly condemn this policy and reaffirm our solidarity with and support of Afro-American people and U.S. anti-imperialist forces and vanguard organizations." We fully associate ourselves with this message and urge readers to send financial contributions and messages of support to the Black Panther Party, 2350 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612.

It is with sorrow that we record the death of our old friend Mary Jane Keeney, who was a highly skilled editor as well as a tireless fighter for radical causes. She often helped MR when we most needed it, and the quality of her help was invariably of the highest. Her credo is well summed up in her own words: "To all my friends I leave my warm love, my faith in man and his power to perform wonders, and the most significant lesson I learned in life: that understanding of the world we live in comes only through struggle, with others, for a principle greater than ourselves."

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